

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----017244 141057Z /11

R 131831Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0238  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USNATO  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 12873

EXDIS

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR, SALT  
SUBJECT: RECENT GERMAN OBSERVATIONS ON ARMS CONTROL  
MATTERS

REF: (A) BONN 12073 NOTAL (B) BONN 12488 (NOTAL)  
(C) MBFR VIENNA 0423

BEGIN SUMMARY

DURING TWO RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH US OFFICIALS, FRG ARMS CONTROL COMMISSIONER RUTH REVIEWED GERMAN THINKING ON HOW TO HANDLE GRAY AREA NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL AS ON MBFR. ON THE GRAY AREA MATTER, RUTH INDICATED THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE GERMANS ATTACHED TO AVOIDING ANY GREAT DIVISION BETWEEN THE DISCUSSION OF THEATER AND INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTICS SYSTEMS. HE ALSO INDICATED GERMAN CONCERN THAT OPTION III, BY

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LIMITING SOME OF OUR POTENTIAL THEATER SYSTEMS, WILL COMPLICATE OUR NEGOTIATION OF ANY UPCOMING GRAY AREA DISCUSSIONS. RUTH ALSO INDICATED SOME INTEREST IN THE FRENCH PROPOSALS, ESPECIALLY IN THE WIDER AREA THAT WOULD BE NEGOTIATED FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES.

IN A RELATED CONVERSATION, A BUNDESTAG MEMBER IN-

DICATED GERMAN RELUCTANCE TO WITHDRAW OR RESTRAIN  
THEATER WEAPONS IN THE CONTEST OF THE MBFR  
NEGOTIATIONS.

US OFFICIALS POINTED OUT THE DIFFICULTY OF CHANG-  
ING OPTOPN III AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME BUT DID NOT  
INFORM RUTH WHAT INFORMATION WAS PASSED TO SOVIETS IN  
1975 (REF C). END SUMMARY.

1. DURING A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY GOODBY, THERE WAS THE FOLLOWING EXCHANGE:

-- RUTH SAID THE GERMANS SAW TWO PARTICULAR SUBSTANTIVE  
POINTS THAT HAD TO BE ADDRESSED IN OUR CONSULTATIONS.  
THE FIRST WAS THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, THE  
SECOND WAS HOW TO HANDLE THE INTERPRETIVE STATEMENT ON  
NON-CIRCUMVENTION. AS FOR THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES  
RUTH SAID WE SHOULD TELL THE EAST THERE IS NO CHANCE  
FOR THEM TO GET ANY THEATER LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE  
MISSILES IF THERE IS NO CORRESPONDING LIMIT ON THEIR  
PART. HE SAID THE PROTOCOL PREJUDICED THE CRUISE  
MISSILES AS A TOPIC TO BE NEGOTIATED AS THERE WAS  
NOTHING PARALLEL ON SOVIET SYSTEMS.

-- RUTH BELIEVES THAT ONE SHOULD GET AWAY FROM THE  
NOTION OF LAYING TOO MUCH STRESS ON THE DISTINCTION OF  
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WHAT WE TERM "STRATEGIC" AND WHAT WE TERM "THEATER"  
SYSTEMS. THAT DISTINCTION COULD PROVE TO BE BOTHER-  
SOME IN NEGOTIATIONS AND ALSO IN OUR OWN STRATEGIC  
THINKING.

-- RUTH REVIEWED HOW WE WOULD HANDLE THE STATEMENTS  
ON NONCIRCUMVENTION AND ON GRAY AREA SYSTEMS. HE SAID  
IT SEEMED TO MAKE SENSE THAT THE STATEMENT ON NONCIR-  
CUMVENTION SHOULD BE MADE TO THE US CONGRESS. AS FOR  
THE GRAY AREA STATEMENT, HE PREFERRED THAT IT SHOULD  
BE MADE TO THE SOVIETS. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE OBSERVED,  
IT WAS NOT ALL CERTAIN WHETHER GRAY AREA LIMITATIONS  
COULD BE NEGOTIATED WITH THE SOVIETS.

-- RUTH EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN ABOUT THE FACT THAT  
LIMITATIONS ON PERSHING HAD BEEN OFFERED AS PART OF  
OPTION III. HE TERMED SUCH LIMITATIONS MORE AND MORE  
OF A "NUISANCE" TO OUR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP A GOOD

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NEGOTIATING POSITION FOR GRAY AREA DISCUSSION. MR. GOODBY SAID THIS WOULD BE A VERY COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT MATTER. RUTH SUGGESTED IT BE LOOKED AT CAREFULLY AND OBSERVED "THERE HAS TO BE A REFINEMENT."

-- ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FRENCH PROPOSAL AND MBFR, RUTH SAID THE FRENCH PROPOSAL CLEARLY COULD NOT SUPPLANT MBFR. IN ANY CASE, IT ALSO HAD TO BE HANDLED IN AN ALLIANCE CONTEXT. HOWEVER, HE INDICATED THAT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL HAD "POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE" IN THE FRG BECAUSE IT PROPOSED LIMITATIONS ON SOVIET TERRITORY AND BECAUSE IT INCLUDED THE FRENCH IN THE ARMS CONTROL PROCESS. IT ALSO FAVORED THE IDEA OF TRANSPARENCY. HE OBSERVED THAT STABILIZING MEASURES ONLY MADE SENSE WHEN THEY COVER A LARGER AREA.

-- RUTH SAID THE FRG WOULD SUPPORT DISCUSSION OF THE FRENCH PROPOSAL. HE SAID HE WAS NOT SURE WHEN A PREPARATORY CONFERENCE ON THOSE PROPOSALS MIGHT TAKE PLACE. HE THOUGHT THAT IN CERTAIN SPHERES, THE FRENCH PROPOSAL COULD COMPLIMENT MBFR VERY USEFULLY. FOR

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EXAMPLE, HE OBSERVED, SOME ITEMS ON THE US LIST OF

STABILIZING MEASURES WERE "DANGEROUS" IN THE NGA BUT MIGHT BE USEFUL IN AN AREA AS LARGE AS PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH. ON THE OTHER HAND, RUTH INSISTED, THE FRG DID NOT WANT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL TO JEOPARDIZE MBFR, TO THE SUCCESS OF WHICH IT WAS FULLY COMMITTED.

2. IN DISCUSSION WITH MBFR US DEP REP ON JULY 8, RUTH AND DEP REP MADE THE FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS ON MBFR NEGOTIATIONS:

-- THE EAST'S JUNE 8 MOVE HAD CONSIDERABLE SUBSTANCE. FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF NEGOTIATING DYNAMICS AND PUBLIC POSTURE OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS, A FURTHER WESTERN MOVE INTENDED TO ELICIT FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN POSITION BEYOND THAT SET FORTH IN JUNE 8 PROPOSALS WOULD BE NEEDED, AND ONE COULD NOT WAIT UNTIL NEXT YEAR TO MAKE IT. THE QUESTION WAS, WHAT MOVE?

-- RUTH SAID ONE POSSIBILITY HE HAD IN MIND WOULD BE A PARTIAL EAST/WEST AGREEMENT TO REDUCE GROUND FORCES TO A COMMON CEILING OF 700,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE TO BE CONCLUDED ON THE CONDITION THAT THERE WAS EAST/WEST AGREEMENT ON DATA. US DEP REP COMMENTED THAT HE SAW NO INDUCEMENT WHATEVER FOR EAST TO MOVE ON DATA IN THIS CONCEPT.

-- RUTH ASKED US DEP REP WHETHER LATTER HAD ANY THOUGHTS AS TO POSSIBLE RESPONSE. US DEP REP DESCRIBED AS PERSONAL VIEW IDEA OF MAKING A WESTERN STATEMENT ON COMMITMENTS OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US ALONG LINES CONTAINED IN MBFR VIENNA 333, AS ONE POSSIBILITY. RUTH SAID THE IDEA DID NOT HAVE GREAT

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APPEAL FOR HIM GIVEN THE BACKGROUND OF GERMAN THINKING ON COLLECTIVITY BUT NEVERTHELESS, CONSIDERATION OF IT SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED.

-- RUTH SAID NATO SHOULD TURN TO CONSIDERATION OF HOW EFFECTIVELY TO CARRY OUT NEW FOCUS ON DATA. WITHOUT GOING TO DETAILS, US DEP REP DESCRIBED IN GENERAL TERMS IDEAS REGARDING REALLOCATION, SELECTIVE USE OF RED DATA AND AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL CONTAINED IN US MBFR VIENNA 412. RUTH EXPRESSED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THIS LINE OF THOUGHT BUT SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO LOOK AT IT MORE CAREFULLY AFTER SUBMISSION TO NATO BEFORE AGREEING ON DETAILS.

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-- RUTH MADE SAME POINTS ON PERSHING HE MADE IN  
WASHINGTON DISCUSSION (REF STATE 169190 PARA 8). US  
DEP REP COMMENTED THAT IT WAS CLEAR ONE COULD NOT USE  
THE SAME WESTERN NEGOTIATING COIN BOTH TO ACHIEVE THE  
WESTERN MBFR PROGRAM AND TO DEAL WITH GRAY AREA PROBLEM.

-- IN DISCUSSION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES, RUTH CONTINUED  
FIRM AS REGARDS DELETING FROM PACKAGE NOW UNDER CONSI-  
DERATION IN SPC THOSE ITEMS WHICH FRG CONSIDERED SHOULD  
BE APPLIED IN WIDER AREA COVERING USSR, INCLUDING MOBILE  
INSPECTION, AERIAL INSPECTION AND LIMITATION OF SIZE OF  
TROOP MOVEMENTS. IN DISCUSSION OF FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR  
EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, RUTH INDICATED THAT HE  
DID NOT HAVE MUCH EXPECTATION THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD AC-  
CEPT FRENCH PROPOSAL PARTICULARLY WHERE IT CONCERNED  
COVERAGE OF WESTERN USSR. DESPITE THIS, HE BELIEVED THE  
WEST SHOULD MAKE PERSISTENT LONG-TERM EFFORT GRADUALLY TO  
GAIN ACCEPTANCE BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES THAT EXTENSION OF  
ARMS CONTROL TO WESTERN PORTION OF USSR WAS AN INEVITA-  
BLE AND NECESSARY PART OF CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT OF

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EAST/WEST ARMS CONTROL IN EUROPE. FOR THIS REASON, HE HOPED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO GAIN SUPPORT OF ALL NATO MEMBERS FOR A NATO APPEAL TO EAST TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE PROPOSED BY FRANCE. THIS WOULD BRING THE ISSUE TO THE ATTENTION OF WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION AND MOBILIZE IT IN THIS REGARD.

-- US DEP REP SAID HE SYMPATHIZED WITH RUTH'S LONG-TERM AIM. BUT HE THOUGHT THE METHODS RUTH HAD IN MIND WERE QUESTIONABLE AS A WAY OF ADVANCING HIS OBJECTIVE. THE SOVIETS WOULD BE LIKELY TO CONSIDER SUCH NATO APPEAL AS PROPAGANDISTIC RATHER THAN AS SERIOUS ENTRY INTO ISSUE OF COVERING WESTERN PART OF USSR IN ARMS CONTROL MEASURES IF FRG AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION WERE MOBILIZED ON THE ISSUE OF EXTENTION OF MEASURES TO SOVIET UNION, THIS COULD UNDERMINE VALIDITY OF CONCEPT OF MBFR REDUCTION AREA AND THUS OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. IT SEEMED TO HIM A FAR BETTER WAY TO START WITH OBLIGATORY MEASURES IN MBFR AREA AND, ONCE THESE MEASURES WERE ESTABLISHED, TO SEEK TO EXPAND THEIR COVERAGE EITHER IN MBFR OR OTHER FRAMEWORK.

-- RUTH ASKED THAT WASHINGTON AGENCIES SETTLE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON TIME FOR TRILATERAL. RUTH'S SUGGESTION WAS SECOND WEEK IN SEPTEMBER IN ORDER TO PERMIT HIM TO PARTICIPATE IN SUBSEQUENT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSION OF DISARMAMENT STARTING AROUND SEPTEMBER 19.

3. IN DISCUSSION WITH FRG BUNDESTAG MEMBER PAWELCZYK JULY 9, LATTER TOLD US DEP REP THAT STATEMENTS OF CONCERN ABOUT WESTERN NUCLEAR REDUCTION OFFER HAD RECENTLY BEEN MADE BY CDU DEFENSE SPOKESMAN WOERNER IN STUDY MEETING CHAIRED BY PAWELCZYK. WOERNER HAD SAID THAT

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR CAPABILITY SHOULD BE OF GREATER CONCERN TO FRG THAN SOVIET TANKS AND THAT WEST SHOULD THEREFORE NOT WITHDRAW NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN MBFR. WOERNER HAD INDICATED HE INTENDED TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THIS TOPIC IN NEAR FUTURE. PAWELCZYK SAID HE BELIEVED SCHMIDT GOVERNMENT COULD COPE WITH POSSIBLE OPPOSITION CRITICISM ON THIS TOPIC, BUT THERE MIGHT BE DIFFICULTIES AT A LATER TIME IF THE WEST SHOULD IN PHASE II ON MBFR SEEK TO MAKE THE SAME TRADE OF US NUCLEARS FOR TANKS. PAWELCZYK INDICATED RUTH WAS AWARE OF THE WOERNER STATEMENTS.

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## Message Attributes

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